

**Where's  
That  
Magic  
Gone ?**

*The Garden of Eden*

**STIR**

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CONTENTS

**INDIA** Indra's Troubles 5

**THE WORLD** Breakthrough  
In Vietnam 11

Editor : Rajinder Puri

**ECONOMY** Bonus Blues 14

**BOOKS** Distant Neighbours 15

**COVER** Painting in tempera of  
Mrs. Gandhi  
by Rajinder Puri

With the  
compliments

of



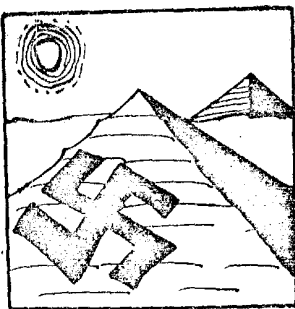
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man, and has been denied access to Gandhi the revolutionary. The man was killed by his enemies, and the revolutionary has been buried by his followers. But the legacy that he left his followers was too rich, the credit afforded by his goodwill too generous, for them to altogether discard his memory. So on appropriate occasions they have invoked his name, carefully preserving his memory in dust-ridden attics, and they have called him the Father of that nation the birth of which he scorned to celebrate. As his followers rejoiced in Delhi, Gandhi fasted in Noakhali, embittered by their betrayal. He turned away without a word the All India Radio correspondent sent from Delhi to Noakhali to record his message for Independence Day. A few months later, he fell to an assassin's bullet. It was left to his followers to murder his message.

Gandhi was not only betrayed by those who inherited the Congress movement, he was betrayed also by those who claimed to follow his teachings after his death. About the vulgarity, the injustice and the corruption perpetrated by the successive governments in India, little need be said. The days of the monstrous, grotesque Establishment that has grown up in this country during the last twenty-five years are numbered. But a word about the professional Gandhians, the self-proclaimed custodians of his teaching, would be very much in order.

The Gandhians of India go around the countryside, often at great personal discomfort, in an effort to educate the villagers, to bring about land redistribution, and help generally in the development of all rural

works. In this development work, they seek and get help from Authority. They have developed a vested interest, therefore, in maintaining cordial relations with the Government. When the Government misbehaves, as it often does, when it lies to the people and deceives them, when it perpetrates injustice, when its Ministers rob the public by misusing their office to amass great personal and family fortunes, the Gandhians remain silent or look the other way. They justify this in their minds, perhaps, by the belief that they are avoiding controversy in order to be able to better pursue their Gandhian development work in the villages. Nothing could be a greater distortion of Gandhian teaching than this kind of non-involvement, this cowardly reluctance to confront the Establishment as it carries the country headlong into the dark regions of tyranny, injustice and public immorality. Gandhi was not interested in building clean and healthy villages and towns inhabited and governed by unclean and corrupt minds. Gandhi sought to build, above all, a society where men were courageous and honest. Today, neither courage nor honesty obtains in the public life of India. When men are afraid to state in public what they speak in private, they are not the followers of Gandhi. If men do not speak when they should, they lose the right of speaking altogether. Today, as the Establishment in India, led by Mrs Gandhi's Government, continues to drag the country to new depths of public immorality and decay, it is, above all, a time to speak up.



## The Warning From Munich

The terrorist outrage at the Munich Olympic Games has sent shudders around the world. Its reverberations can still be felt as the world's press and politicians continue to ponder all the stark implications for the future that the incident contains. There has been much informed speculation on the ramifications of the Palestinian terrorist groups, and on the origins and strength of the Black September movement itself. This is good as far as it goes—maximum information is the first requisite for drawing the right lessons—but it doesn't go far enough. There is need for perspective thinking on the issue, and there hasn't been quite enough of that.

The glib conclusion that Hitler rides again, in Arab garb now, being put out by facile commentators all over the world, only goes to show how little the world has learnt from its experience of Hitler. There is no Hitler

yet in West Asia, but only a breeding ground of Hitlerism. And the distinction between Hitler and Hitlerism is important enough to merit a careful consideration.

The world tends to forget that before Hitler came on the scene, Hitlerism had already spread its poison in Germany. The disgrace of defeat in war, and the stinging humiliations suffered after it by the German people, were enough to drive a good many of them to a black despair from the depths of which were to emerge the wild, dark and fanatical ideas which were, eventually, to create the most monstrous regime in modern history. If Hitler was the creator of Nazi Germany, he was also the creature of the bleak, hopeless and humbled Germany which preceded it. He did not unleash the wave which almost drowned civilised humanity,—he rode on its crest with a wild and vicious vengeance to carry

it farther afield, and to his own ultimate destruction. Even before Hitler, the poisonous writing of Julius Streicher was at work in Germany, as were the excesses of the Erhardt Brigade, a band of ruffians who engineered political murders, among them being that of Walter Rathenau, the German Foreign Minister who had initiated the policy of fulfilling the provisions of the hated Peace Treaty of Versailles.

There is no Hitler in West Asia yet, but the world seems to be doing its damndest to create one. The pros and cons of the original Palestinian controversy have long since got buried in the limbo of history. If the creation of Israel was attended by injustice against the Arabs of Palestine, such injustice is not unique. If the State of Israel itself was created artificially, it was not the first, nor the last, instance of such manipulation by the big powers, particularly in that region. Maps have been drawn and redrawn with impunity in West Asia, and the Arabs have always learnt to take the changes in their stride.

What makes the Arab-Israeli confrontation distinctive now is the religious, cultural and racial hatred compounded by old enmities and new wars which has grown between the two peoples, and which shows no sign of abating. Worst of all, the world started laughing at the Arabs for losing three successive wars against the Israelis. The world can be very hypocritical in such things. On the one hand it deplores the dehumanised and barbaric aspects of war, and on the other it glorifies those who fight these very same dehumanised and barbaric wars well, and mocks those who don't. After 1967, the Arab who, because of inferior training and equipment for this barbaric task, wilted before the efficient Israeli war machine, became the butt of jokes on which laughter echoed around the world. All the slick, smart journals of the west carried these jokes for weeks on end to the amused guffaws of their readers. So a few desperate, humiliated and unhinged Arabs decided to do something to stop the laughter and redeem their 'honour'. Well, the world has stopped laughing now. It has to worry instead about the lunatic missions of the suicide squads sent out by their terrorist organisations.

But that is not the end of it. What makes the situation really grim and explosive is the strategic importance of the area, with all that oil flowing around it, and the acute rivalry between the superpowers that has developed in the region. It is this last factor which adds a new dimension to the danger created by the existence of wild, amorphous terrorist groups, with fluctuating loyalties and one fixation, and with the willingness to shake hands with the devil himself if that were to serve their purpose.

It is facile to suggest, as many international commentators have, that the blood-bath in Munich was planned months ago because the presence of an Arab terrorist infiltrator among the Olympic Games workers suggests that. What should be amply clear by now is

that the terrorists have a much wider international network than they are generally credited with, and they move on their own steam, striking short-term bargains with one or the other power for specific assignments. That is what makes the whole business so dangerous—the secret agencies of most governments would always succumb to the temptation of dealing with the terrorists, who most likely have a formidable espionage system of their own, for just that one particular assignment which would bale their government out of its current difficulty. So while most governments, including the big powers, imagine that they are exploiting the terrorists for their own ends, they are, in fact, most likely being exploited by the terrorists themselves. The movement of the West German terrorist, Andreas Baader, to Palestinian training camps, the session which George Habash is reported to have had in North Korea, the presence in Ireland of terrorist leaders from Palestine, and the Japanese terrorist Okamoto's mission in far-off Tel Aviv, all these should make the big powers stop and think about the kind of fire they are playing with in West Asia.

The killings at Munich could not have been timed better for sabotaging the break-through in the Arab-Israeli relations that at last was beginning to emerge as a distinct possibility. Sadat's expulsion of the Soviet advisers from Egypt had created just the right mood for some meaningful bilateral talks between the Arabs and the Israelis, and one of the most significant events in this connection, certainly, was the meeting between Kissinger and Cairo Editor Muhammed Hassanein Heikal, which, curiously enough, passed almost unnoticed in the press. Heikal has been doing a Kissinger for the Arabs close on fifteen years in Cairo—he was Nasser's original liaison man with the CIA in 1956, has been the top Egyptian adviser ever since then—and his meeting with Kissinger could not have been arranged for discussing the weather.

After the outrage at Munich, the chances of a quick break-through have receded, but, hopefully, both the Arabs and the Israelis have shown till now considerably more restraint in their actions than in their words. Heikal himself in his editorials seems to be protesting too much the Arab need for Soviet friendship, which isn't going to fool the Soviets. For the present, both the Russians and the terrorists are sitting pretty—the whipped up Arab public opinion would favour their interests more than those of the Arab governments who would prefer an accommodation with Israel to get out of the Russian bear-hug. But what of the future? The terrorists are the only gainers in the long run, as discontent and fanaticism continue to grow in the Arab countries, ripening the situation for some young Hitler, presently sulking in the bazars of Cairo, Damascus or Beirut, to come along and exploit it to his own advantage. The time for everybody, including the Russians, s, is fast running out.